DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 135 202 FL 007 996

AUTHOR	Tonkin, Humphrey
TITLE	Introduction to Esperanto Studies. Esperanto Documents, New Series, Number 6A (1976).
INSTITUTION	Universal Esperanto Association, Rotterdam (Netherlands).
PUB DATE	75
NOTE	17p.; Paper delivered at meeting of the Chicago Esperanto Society (Chicago, Illinois, March 1975)
AVAILABLE FROM	Esperanto Book Service, P. O. Box 508, Burlingame, California ($1.25)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Artificial Languages; International Relations; Language Attitudes; *Language Research; Language Role; Linguistic Theory; Literature; *Research Needs; Second Language Learning
IDENTIFIERS	*Esperanto

ABSTRACT

Relatively few studies have been made of the history of the international language Esperanto, although materials for its study are fairly complete. As a linguistic phenomenon, that is, a language in continuous use for almost a century but without national roots, it has also had little systematic study, though a considerable literature on the subject exists in Esperanto itself. There are now several native speakers of Esperanto, who might merit special investigation. It would also be useful to have more extensive study of psychological and sociological aspects of the Esperanto speech community. Esperanto has an extensive literature, original and translated, little known by outside scholars. There is also a need for the study of Esperanto's practical application and its potential as a solution to international language problems. Some attention has been given to the pedagogy of Esperanto, but more work is needed. The language is seldom mentioned in major reference works or adequately represented in libraries, and for these reasons it is often overlooked by scholars. The largest collections of Esperanto materials are in London, Rotterdam and Vienna. (Author/CFM)

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Esperanto Documents, new series, number 6 A (1976)

AN INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO STUDIES

by Humphrey Tonkin

(A lecture delivered to the Chicago Esperanto Society, March 1975)

The history of scholarship is full of amazing accidents. Whole fields have grown up through the discoveries of a single person, or through the energies of a small group of pioneers. Whole areas of research have been mapped out because of the presence of a particular group of people in one place at one time. The coming into being of the discipline of sociology, the growth of the study of American civilization, the establishment of the discipline of comparative literature, the beginnings of psychiatry — all these are the products of small groups of brilliant people, who combined genius with a measure of hard-headed practicality.

By the same token, whole areas have yet to receive the attention they deserve. We often find ourselves saying, of some book or article in our own field, that it should have been written years ago; or expressing amazement that this or that task has still not been completed, this or that essential work still not been undertaken. Esperanto studies seem to belong in this latter category. They constitute a field whose exploration is long overdue. In fact it is a constant source of amazement to me that the study of the language and movement associated with Esperanto has been up to now almost exclusively a realm of amateurs. The serious sociologists, linguists, and historians who have devoted time to Esperanto cannot number more than a dozen or so. The purpose of the present survey is to suggest a few ways in which we can change this state of affairs and to explain why it is important to do so.

The language dates from 1887, the year of publication of the first booklet by its creator, Ludwig Zamenhof ([1]). Ten years went into the preparation of this booklet ([2]). The social and cultural movement that grew out of these small beginnings is surely one of the most interesting of the period. All across Europe people heard about Esperanto. Many began to learn it. In the United States the American Philosophical Society reported on it ([3]), and in France it was examined by the Academy of Sciences ([4]). Esperanto speakers came together for the first time in 1905, in a congress in Boulogne-sur-Mer. Zamenhof was there. He was at the next congress in Geneva. In 1907 he went to the conference in Cambridge, was received by the Lord Mayor in London, visited the "new town" of Letchworth Garden City. In 1910 he came to the United States

for the conference in Washington. Adepts of Esperanto were everywhere. Esperantists travelled through Russia and Central Asia, the language was introduced into China, in Japan it caught hold. In the euphoria of the early Soviet period it played its part. Later, Stalin persecuted it. So did Hitler. Many of its leaders died in his concentration camps ([5]). The League of Nations gave it consideration but rejected it ([6]). Many conscientious objectors learned it in prison in the First World War, Yugoslav revolutionaries learned it, in China its beginnings were linked with attempts to introduce western orthography, in Japan its use is today linked with one of the largest national religious movements. Today, you can hear Esperanto on the radio, buy numerous books in the language, reed periodicals, pray and fight in it ([7]).

It is an extraordinary history, and it is linked to an extraordinary language. Speakers of Esperanto apparently of every kind of linguistic background communicate successfully through the language. As for the speech community itself, it is unlike any other in that most of its members are geographically scattered, the vast majority of them are (by definition) at least bilingual, they are all of them literate. Their level of educational attainment is extraordinarily high, they are well read, they travel a great deal, they are generally well informed about international affairs. Their organization, largely amateur, spans the world. They support a flourishing literature. The language itself is largely *a posteriori* in make-up : it is based on existing languages. But it has characteristics quite unlike the European languages known to its inventor. It contains also *a priori* elements, it is basically agglutinative, it has developed its own style and modes of expression ([8]).

The very fact that it is possible to list this congeries of facts is evidence that such information is at least recorded, but very little of the foregoing has been the subject of systematic study. Where such study *has* taken place it is often known only to speakers of Esperanto. Hence, though we know a good deal about the early history of the language, there has been little attempt to link this early movement with similar social movements of the period; though we know a good deal about the development of Esperanto literature in the twenties and thirties, it has not been set in the context of the national literary histories of the time; though we know our own international movement well, it has not been studied in relationship to other modern international groupings.

Remedying these deficiencies, and other that I shall mention, is a task both difficult and easy — difficult in that it involves learning another language and working often with a paucity of materials, easy in that the language is at least a manageable language and the materials, though often hard to come by, are in many areas marvellously complete. American libraries are shockingly deficient in materials for the study of Esperanto. I know of no public or university library with more than a handful of Esperanto titles. The largest collection in this continent is probably the library of the Canadian Esperanto Association, with a mere 3500 volumes. By contrast the International Esperanto Museum, in Vienna, a public, state-supported institution founded in 1929, has in its possession 15,000 volumes. The British Esperanto Association, in London, has 33,000 titles listed (not all of them actually books), and the Hodler Library of the Universal Esperanto Association, in Rotterdam, contains some 10,000 volumes. Other large collections are in the Bulgarian National Library (Sofia), and in Prague, Tokyo, Amsterdam, Paris and several German universities ([9]).

Any systematic study of Esperanto therefore requires either a visit to a major existing library or an effort to gather the basic materials. Fortunately several of the more important libraries have published their catalogues ([10]), and there also exist a number of general bibliographies, of which the most important is the monumental bibliography of Stojan, covering the first forthy years of the

language and now happily available again ([11]). There has been little systematic descriptive bibliography of Esperanto works, except for some studies by Haupenthal and by Waringhien. As for modern bibliographical work, little is going on, and several major libraries, among them those of the British Esperanto Association and the Universal Esperanto Association, are in need of attention from cataloguers. Over the past twenty years, the Center for Research and Documentation on the World Language Problem has produced occasional lists of new books, dictionaries, and so on, and has surveyed the Esperanto movement in various ways through statistical studies and summaries of important events. Its Documents are essential tools for the study of the Esperanto movement ([12]).

In the bibliography of Esperanto we find numerous works on the language itself, beginning with Zamenhof's own *Lingvaj Respondoj* ([13]), written to clarify early usage, and extending to the work of Kalocsay and Waringhien, *Plena Gramatiko de Esperanto* ([14]), and assorted modern studies like *La Zamenhofa Esperanto* ([15]). Nevertheless, there has been no full-scale attempt to write a modern linguistic description of Esperanto, studies of phonetic aspects of Esperanto have been rather minimal, and little work has been done on sociolinguistic aspects of the Esperanto movement. As might be expected, the most extensive work has gone into the lexicography of the language, led especially by Waringhien, but with important contributions by Bokarev, Wells, Butler, and others ([16]). The *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro*, by Waringhien, runs to 1300 pages of tightly packed information ([17]). It is an essential piece of equipment for the researcher.

Perhaps the most regrettable aspect of the linguistic study of Esperanto is that most serious linguists who are not themselves speakers of the language treat it not as a living language, but as a language project, making comparisons between Esperanto and projects for other constructed languages as though Esperanto were merely those bare bones of a language that were first presented to the public in 1887. Of course, since 1887 the language has grown enormously, and any serious study needs to take this into account. Nevertheless, the comparative study of constructed language projects, or interlinguistics, has received more extended attention than most others connected with Esperanto. Of the various individual studies, those of Manders and Gilbert are the most immediately useful, because they were done by people who at least understood the characteristics of Esperanto as a spoken language ([18]).

A few years ago I had the unusual pleasure of meeting a very old Esperanto speaker from California (he was in his nineties) who had been largely outside the Esperanto movement for fifty years or more. He spoke the Esperanto of the very first years of the language in this country — and did so, after all these years, with amazing fluency. The characteristic of his usage that most impressed me, I remember, was its amazing flexibility. Working with a restricted and limited vocabulary, he was able through skilful use of compound words to deal adequately with any concept, any idea that we discussed. The modern speaker of Esperanto, with another fifty years of coinages at his disposal, has become lazy by comparison : he has more roots to choose from and exercises less ingenuity in their use. It occurred to me then that a systematic study of changes in style and usage between 1887 and today would be an immensely valuable addition to our knowledge of the development of Esperanto. Several efforts in this direction have been made. William Auld has pointed the way in his recent study of the development of literary language in Esperanto; Kalocsay and Waringhien have worked in this field, and in recent years the controversy over participles has shed some light on the whole question of the evolution of the language ([19]). Esperanto is probably unique among languages in that it was a written language, as well as a spoken one, from the beginning (and the implications of *that* fact are

worth study too. Nevertheless there are bound to be differences between the spoken and written usage. Currently, efforts are being made to record spoken Esperanto in systematic fashion ([20]). There are many questions that this effort should help to answer. Does usage vary with circumstance ? To what extent does the native language of a speaker influence linguistic usage in Esperanto ? What are the phonetic implications of linguistic background ? How are standards of Esperanto pronunciation and usage transmitted and received ? We currently know very little about any of these subjects.

A small and largely ignored group of Esperanto speakers are those who speak the language as their first language — children brought up in homes where Esperanto is the language of the home. We now nothing of any significance about native Esperanto speakers, their speech development, their acquisition of a second language outside the home, their view of themselves, their attitude towards language. Each year at the Universal Congress of Esperanto a so-called children's congress, a kind of summer camp for young Esperanto speakers, is held. The children who attend such events have been the subject of at least a brief study ([21]), but there is a need for more work here. As for their elders, how do they spend their time during the annual Universal Congress, when 1500 or 2000 of them gather together for a week of meetings, lectures, cultural events, and renewals of old acquaintance ?

Indeed, what makes people interested in Esperanto in the first place ? The Freudian psychologist Flügel thought he knew and published an article on the subject in the twenties, but the only person to give sustained attention to the psychology or sociology of the Esperanto movement since then is the British sociologist Forster, who has studied the make-up and background of the membership of the British Esperanto Association. The British linguist Richard Wood, now living in the United States, has done some comparable but more limited work on those taking part in Universal Congresses ([22]).

The whole subject of motivation to learn Esperanto merits investigation. In my own observation, many of the most active speakers learned for practical rather than idealistic reasons. The idealism came second, if it came at all. A related and, to me, equally fascinating question has to do with why people try to construct languages in the first place. We all know that there have been hundreds of language projects over the years. Why ? What is it about people's psychological make-up that makes them create their own linguistic systems ? Is it related to other kinds of utopianism ? Is it a process akin to literary creation, as some studies of Zamenhof imply ([23]) ? We have few of the answers, and few have even raised the questions.

Despite my observations about idealism, its ideals have over the years been the driving force behind Esperanto. We know a considerable amount about the early years of Zamenhof's career, his first attempts to create a language, his efforts at recognition for his creation. But we still await a biography that sets Zamenhof's early aspirations in the social and intellectual context of late nineteenth-century Russian Poland. What did Zamenhof read, what did he think about, what did he discuss with his friends, to what extent was he a part of the intellectual trends of his age ([24]) ? To what extent did his ideals borrow their inspiration from Judaism or, more particularly, from the Zionism that he expressly repudiated ([25]) ? What made the language catch on in Central Europe or in France ? And what *did* the sub-committee of the American Philosophical Society talk about in their deliberations in 1887 and 1888 ? No one has tried to find out.

There is no shortage of accounts of the events of Esperanto's history. They are contained in periodicals, in conference papers, in minutes, in yearbooks, and in a number of literate histories. The early period is particularly well served by the

histories of Privat, Zakrzewski and Drezen, and a vast and utterly undigested collection of facts is contained in Courtinat's history, which extends to 1960 (24). A good but brief account is to be found in Lapenna's recent volume *Esperanto en Perspektivo*, the historical parts of which were written by the young German historian Ulrich Lins. This work is an essential piece of equipment for the student of Esperanto. To it we should also add the recent Yearbooks of the Universal Esperanto Association, with their summaries of each year's progress and extensive lists of organizations, publications and special services, and perhaps the *Enciklopedio de Esperanto*, published in the 1930's and now being revised (27).

An adequate account of the research needed on the history of Esperanto would require a separate study. In a field where so much depends on the initiative of particular individuals, and where talent and enterprise do not always go together, the coverage is inevitably spotty. We have good accounts of certain national Esperanto movements, notably the Japanese, the Yugoslav, and the German movements (28), but there is much that we need to know about the British movement, in which a number of noted intellectuals were involved in the early years (29). About the American movement our knowledge is deplorably slight, and there has been no organized attempt to write its history. No one has scoured Washington for accounts of the Universal Congress there in 1910; no one has done the same for San Francisco in 1915. The attics of the Universal Esperanto Association in Rotterdam are jammed with the correspondece and account books of early leaders of that association, and there is abundant unpublished material awaiting intelligent interpretation in the collections in Vienna and London. On Zamenhof himself there is fairly full published material — his literary works (which are extensive), his letters, his speeches (30). Lanti, founder of the principal workers' Esperanto movement, is the subject of a study soon to be published by the Dutchman Eduard Borsboom, though more work is needed to supplement that already available on the relation between Esperanto and the trade union movement in the twenties and thirties, and on the stormy history of the language in the Soviet Union (31). Biographies of other major figures are needed.

Zamenhof's own writings signalled the beginning of an extraordinary literary tradition in Esperanto. We still lack a full account of Esperanto literary history — the nearest approaches are those of Novobilský, Kralj, Pechan, and Carlevaro (32) — and it would be a major undertaking to carry out such a task. Such a study should consider not only the major events in Esperanto literary history, but also their relation to the development of the language, in which process literature played a uniquely important role, shaping the language and fitting it to new tasks and functions. It should relate the major figures to their own national backgrounds and to the intellectual currents of their day. The maturity of Esperanto as a literay language came in the twenties and thirties, when the literary activity was centred on Hungary. We need to ask ourselves why. The history of Hungarian literature is itself rather short, and in that country literary language played an important role in the development of the national language as a modern idiom. Did Hungarian writers in Esperanto chart a similar course for Esperanto literature ? Indeed, to what extent has the history of Esperanto literature followed the same line of development as that of other literatures ? I have long been attracted by the hypothesis that all literatures develop through somewhat the same processes — that there are common elements in all literary histories. Esperanto literature, as the creation of bilingual or multilingual intellectuals drawing on their native intellectual traditions as well as those that they perceive in Esperanto itself, may well have gone through the process of development more rapidly than certain other literatures and may reveal the process of change with unusual clarity. It would be helpful to know where Esperanto's literary roots lie —

how much of the British tradition has come into the literature through the work of Boulton or Auld, how much of the Japanese tradition through the work of Miyamoto masao, and so on.

But if this large historical and comparative undertaking has still to be written, there are nevertheless more limited but important studies already in existence. Margaret Hagler's dissertation, of 1971, on Esperanto as a literary language ([33]), subjects Esperanto poetry to the tools of modern critical analysis, and there are several smaller studies along similar lines. We can, I hope, expect more of this kind of work, particularly from American scholars. Esperanto poetry, quite strikingly rich and varied, is fairly easily accessible in the publications of the Spanish publisher Stafeto. Auld's anthology of original Esperanto poetry runs to over six hundred pages and contains works by ninety poets ([*]).

In the early years, especially, translations into Esperanto made up a large part of the Esperanto books available. We have good translations of the Bible, the Koran, Dante, many of the plays and some of the sonnets of Shakespeare, Goethe, Baudelaire, Heine, Tagore, and a host of others. There have been some attempts to study the art of translation into Esperanto, but again, there is a need for more systematic efforts in this area. In some cases we even have more than one translation of a given work — for example Dante's *Inferno*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and parts of the Bible — and comparisons are possible ([*]).

The scholar will probably discover that literature is one of the principal contributing factors to that elusive entity, Esperanto culture. The existence of this culture has been vehemently denied by those who maintain that Esperanto is culturally neutral, and as vehemently affirmed by those who feel that no language can command a speech community without reflecting the history and ideals of that community. I am not one of those who would deny Esperanto its cultural roots, though it is an interesting fact that many scholars, who should know better, are still willing to assert that Esperanto is indeed culturally rootless, a mere code, without literature and without a living history. Scholarly ignorance is always shocking. In this instance it is little short of tragic ([*]).

Under the general heading of literature we need to include also other types of writing — scientific and technical writing, the use of Esperanto in commerce, and so on. Here we move inevitably from the mere observation of a phenomenon — the unique cultural, linguistic and social phenomenon that is Esperanto — into the realm of feasibility. I do not intend in this present survey to examine the realm of international language problems in general, where a good deal of scholarly work has been done. We need more, especially on language problems in particular areas (international business, diplomacy, science, and so on). My interest here is specifically with the feasibility of the adoption of Esperanto in particular fields of human activity. How *would* we introduce Esperanto into an organization like the United Nations if that organization adopted the language tomorrow ? What are the management problems associated with the adoption of the language by an organization, a group of companies, a profession ? It is one of the unaccountable tragedies of our day that there has been little systematic study of the management problems associated with multilingualism either. Multilingualism has simply always been there, and our efforts to cope with it have been largely hand-to-mouth. In the literature of language problems the leading publication is the periodical *La Monda Lingvo-Problemo*, published by Mouton, but its articles seldom examine these questions. It may be that the main obstacle to the general adoption of Esperanto is not the reluctance of officials to give it a try but the lack of preparedness of its advocates themselves.

Certainly this last assertion has some validity when applied to the history of Esperanto teaching in schools. The most recent count, for the academic year 1968-69, revealed that over

16,000 students in at least 31 countries were learning Esperanto as a school subject ([37]). In most cases these classes had come about because of enterprising instructors and enlightened school administrators. While the statistics show a big increase over an earlier survey carried out two or three years before, several of the earlier classes had disappeared by the time of the new survey — probably not because the classes were failures (Esperanto classes in schools have a high success rate) or because administrators changed their minds, but because teachers moved on, or were reassigned, and replacements could not be found. It is the supply of teachers, rather than the reluctance of school officials, that is the biggest obstacle to the widespread adoption of Esperanto as a school subject.

The supply of teachers will increase, of course, only when Esperanto is more generally available to students in colleges and universities, and when the methodology of the teaching of Esperanto is more highly developed than it is now. Recent years have witnessed a vast increase in the availability of teaching materials. There are now good texts in English for secondary schools, several home-study kits with records or cassettes (there are half a dozen or more now on the market), good dictionaries, a children's magazine. Even *Winnie-the-Pooh* has been translated into Esperanto ([38]). There are some pioneering studies in curriculum development — Parson's dissertation at San Francisco State on elementary schools ([39]), Rakuša's important study *Metodiko de la Esperanta Instruado* (1970), the work of Szerdahelyi in *Internacia Pedagogia Revuo* ([40]), and so on. But more is needed. There is a need, too, for additional controlled experiments on the teaching of Esperanto. A number of claims have been made to the effect that Esperanto is an excellent introduction to language learning in general, and that students of a foreign language may make more progress in that language if they begin with a year of Esperanto than if they start right in on the foreign language itself ([41]). The International League of Esperanto Teachers is now giving special attention to the whole question of experimental instruction.

The introduction of Esperanto into schools and colleges does present special opportunities of a directly educational nature, however. We are living in a period of sharply declining enrolments in language courses across the country. Unfortunately many students are bored by foreign languages, they do not see their relevance, they cannot apply them. The grind of learning the basics of a language outweighs the promise of the ultimate rewards of its mastery. While teachers maintain that an awareness of the relativity of linguistic forms is an essential part of the development of a student's verbal skills, and an awareness of the relativity of cultures is basic to education for world citizenship, students look for quick returns, for job prospects, for an education that can be readily cashed in on ([42]). The answer to this problem is not simply to sit back and complain about it, for self-righteousness never carries the day. The answer is to try new forms of language instruction and, above all, new languages which promise high returns. Esperanto is one of these. Because it is so extraordinarily easy, the student rapidly reaches a stage where he can put it to practical use, the intellectual rewards in learning it are unusually high, and the scope for actually speaking and using it is surprisingly broad. The network of Esperanto organizations across the world makes it easy to arrange school exchanges, trips abroad, visits not merely to one foreign country but to several, family stays, and so on. There are books and records available, magazines, as well as radio broadcasts. Esperanto teaching has all the excitement of discovery about it, and little of the drudgery of rote learning. It is also no threat to the learning of foreign languages, for a greater awareness of other peoples and other cultures is more likely to encourage the acquisition of additional languages.
The fact that Esperanto is easily learned means that a trained language teacher can add it to his or her repertoire quite rapidly. This summer, courses at San Francisco State and

Johns Hopkins designed expressly for teachers provide such an opportunity. The college teacher of French or Spanish can soon reach a level of competence at which he or she can offer a course or two in Esperanto, and there are several colleges across the country where such courses are now offered. At Elizabethtown College, in Pennsylvania, students can now satisfy the language requirement through Esperanto. They are doing so with new eagerness. Perhaps their acquaintance with Esperanto will in due course take them on to other languages, and will persuade them to travel or to make contact with people abroad on their own initiative.

It would be wrong, of course, to assume that the growth in Esperanto studies that we are now witnessing in this country will change the academic landscape overnight, but it does seem evident that Esperanto is coming into its own as a subject for serious scholarly study. We need to ask ourselves why it has not done so before. I have already alluded to one reason. The scholarly community has in the past been seriously ignorant of the language's scope and dimensions. The standard Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics does not mention Esperanto at all. Nor is it mentioned in most other literary encyclopedias. Many textbooks on linguistics either ignore it or misspeak themselves in the most risible fashion. Ignorance feeds on ignorance : an error in one textbook is repeated in another, failure to find Esperanto texts on a library shelf is easily taken as evidence that the books do not exist, and such an assertion in print causes scholars to stop looking for them. One can hardly blame an individual scholar for failure to notice the existence of something so effectively overlooked by his predecessors. And note that I emphasize the *existence* of Esperanto, not its merits. Regardless of how we feel about its ultimate suitability as a second language for all people, it is a major phenomenon and, as such, it merits our scholarly attention.

If Esperanto studies have one major priority it is to raise the level of Esperanto's visibility. It must find a place in the major reference works used by our scholars and its publications must be accomodated on the shelves of our great research libraries. There is a need, too, for fundamental research tools — good bibliographies, an American Esperanto dictionary, an abstract service. And we must rehabilitate and strenghten the principal research centers in Europe, especially the Esperanto libraries in London and Rotterdam. Meanwhile, let us bring this phenomenon to the attention of our students, as an ideal introduction to language learning and internationalism for our children in elementary and secondary schools, a route to the effective use of a second language for college students, and a professional asset and a vast storehouse of research for our student teachers and our dissertation writers.

NOTES

([1]) On Zamenhof see Marjorie Boulton, *Zamenhof, Creator of Esperanto* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960) and Edmond Privat, *Life of Zamenhof* (1931; rpt. Oakville, Ont: Esperanto Press, 1963).

([2]) See Gaston Waringhien's important essay "Pra-Esperantoj" in his *Lingvo kaj Vivo* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1959), pp. 19-54.

([3]) *Supplementary Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider an International Language* (Philadelphia: APS, 1888); (L. L. Zamenhof), *An Attempt Towards An International Language* by Dr. Esperanto, tr. Henry Phillips (New York: Holt, 1889).

([4]) Ivo Lapenna and others, *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (London and Rotterdam: Universala Esperanto-Asocio, 1974), p. 250.

([5]) See Ulrich Lins, "Persekutoj kontraŭ la Internacia Lingvo," in Lapenna, *Perspektivo*, pp. 697-747.

([6]) League of Nations, *Esperanto as an International Language*, Report of the General Secretariat. . . adopted by the Third Assembly (Geneva : League of Nations, 1922); Ivo Lapenna, "The Common Language Question before International Organizations," *La Monda Lingvo-Problemo* (LMLP), 2 (1970), 83-102; Lapenna, *Perspektivo*, pp. 748-60.

([7]) See, for example, M. C. Butler's *Himnaro Esperantista* (London : British Esperanto Association, 1910 and later edns.), and a curious piece of wargames literature, the U. S. Army Manual *Esperanto, the Agressor Language*. On the information contained in this paragraph see Lapenna, *Perspektivo*, *passim*.

([8]) A good brief introduction to the structure of the language can be found in J. C. Wells, *The Concise Esperanto and English Dictionary* (London: English Universities Press, 1969), p. 1-35.

([9]) Lins, in Lapenna, *Perspektivo*, pp. 678-81; Universala Esperanto-Asocio, *Jarlibro* (Rotterdam: UEA, 1972), 2:129-33.

([10]) For example, Hugo Steiner, *Katalogo pri la Kolektoj de Internacia Esperanto-Muzeo en Wien*, 2 vols. (Wien: IEMW, 1957-58); Péter László, *Katalogo de la Hungarlanda Esperanto-Biblioteko* (Szeged: HEB, 1967).

([11]) P. E. Stojan, *Bibliografio de Internacia Lingvo* (1929; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973). See also the brief guides by Reinhard Haupenthal, *Enkonduko en la Librosciencon de Esperanto* (Nürnberg: Pickel, 1968), and Humphrey Tonkin, *Esperanto and International Language Problems : A Research Bibliography* (3rd edn., Washington: Esperantic Studies Foundation, 1972).

([12]) They are available in English from Universala Esperanto-Asocio, Rotterdam.

([13]) L. L. Zamenhof, *Lingvaj Respondoj*, ed. G. Waringhien (Marmande: Esperantaj Francaj Eldonoj, 1962).

([14]) 3rd edn. (Milano: Esperanto-Propaganda Centro, 2 vols., 1958-64). See also Edmond Privat, *Esprimo de Sentoj en Esperanto* (1931; 3rd edn., Den Haag:

Internacia Cseh-Instituto, 1957), and K. Kalocsay, *Lingvo Stilo Formo* (Budapest : Literatura Mondo, 1931).

([15]) La Laguna : Régulo, 1961.

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([21]) By Victor Sadler, reported in a document of the CRD, see n. 12, above.

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(35) See Auld, "La Internacia Lingvo kiel Belarta Tradukilo," in Lapenna, ed., *Memorlibro*, pp. 54-67; Humphrey Tonkin, *Shakespeare in Esperanto: A Bibliography*, (Documents of CRD, London, 1966).

(36) See H. Tonkin, "Code or Culture ? The Case of Esperanto," *Era* (University of Pennsylvania), 4 (1968), 5-21.

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